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BACKGROUND PAPER
SECURITY IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS

7/19E

RELEASED IN FULL

Key Factors:

- Over two million refugees remain outside Rwanda, with some 850,000 in the Goma, Zaire camps. The security of refugees and of relief workers as well as the integrity of the relief effort itself are preoccupying issues.
- Repatriation has been hindered to an unknown degree by former Rwandan government operatives (former officials, militia and ex-FAR).
- Insecurity and corruption/manipulation of the relief effort are perceived to be the worst in Zaire. The GOZ, which should be responsible for both policing refugee camps and disarming/controlling the former Rwandan government operatives, is capable of neither.
- This problem was highlighted recently by the announcement of 15 international NGOs, citing the ethical dilemma of having their attempts to assist refugees actually support those who have committed genocide, that they would withdraw from the camps unless the international community does "something" to break the control of the former Rwandan regime.
- The UN has considered various options for addressing security, but has not yet come to a conclusion on a specific

course of action to be presented to the Security Council nor on potential contributors to some kind of force.

-- Among the options being considered: 1) expand UNAMIR's mandate so troops could operate in the camps (i.e., outside Rwanda's borders; 2) authorize a separate UN force with a specific mandate; 3) establish a UN rapid deployment force; 4) UNHCR contracts for a private guard force; and 5) UNHCR's idea of fielding a coalition of African/Western police forces to train, supervise and work closely with Zairian police.

UNHCR's Plan

-- UNHCR's plan involves the introduction of a multinational police force which would come in support of the Zairian security forces. The contingent would be composed of police/gendarmes from French-speaking African countries. Logistical support in transport and equipment and financial support would be solicited from non-African countries.

-- We see a number of problems with this approach with the most significant one being the time involved to recruit and equip multilateral police and then train Zairian police. Such an effort no doubt would be equivalent in difficulty and slowness to trying to obtain peace-keeping troops from other nations. Another concern is the Zairian police and military involvement in the corruption and harassment of refugees. It

is also not clear under what authorities such a police force would operate.

USG Plan (May not have full UN support)

Step 1: Contract Guard Force

- We believe that, given the growing impatience with manipulation of humanitarian assistance, the heightened tensions in the refugee camps that could spark more violence, and the failure of national and/or UN enforcement mechanisms, it is time to consider contracting for commercial guard services.
- A contract guard force, under UNHCR's direction, would provide protection to international relief workers; ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance to refugees; and through their presence reduce intimidation of refugees within a comparatively short time-frame and until such time as a UN guard or additional/expanded peacekeeping force could be fielded.
- Such a guard force would be funded by voluntary contributions to UNHCR. The force would coordinate its efforts with the Zairian police which would maintain the responsibility for arrest, detention and prosecution.

Step 2: UN "Bubble" Force

- While the contract force is being hired and put in place, efforts should begin to have a UN peace-keeping/guard force authorized and stood up.
- A UN force would have a broader mandate than that of the contract force. In addition to protection of refugees and relief workers, the UN force would also protect human rights investigators, address disarmament, and facilitate repatriation. Arrest/detention powers may also be needed.
- The "Bubble" force concept is still being developed; several questions still need to be answered. It is designed to insert a minimum of 2-3 well trained battalions, deployed from UN member states, into the refugee camp, to separate the ex-FAR and militia elements from refugees wishing to return to Rwanda. The force would ensure "safe passage" into Rwanda, with the GOR and UNAMIR responsible for ensuring their safety once repatriated. The "Bubble" would cover limited areas at a time, leaving Zairian authorities in charge behind them.
- The U.S. has consulted with UN officials on this, and is in the process of communicating with several governments to gauge receptiveness to the general concept, as well as to the possibility of participating in such an effort.

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The Belgian Plan

-- The Belgians will likely raise their concept for promoting the stabilization of Rwanda and Burundi, as presented to A/S Moose. While the Belgian plan mentions security in the camps, it primarily focuses on the longer term need to get the GOR to begin a dialogue with the ex-FAR.

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